A LETTER TO A FRIEND,

Giving an Account how the

Treaty of Union

Has been Received here.

AND

Wherein are contained, Anſwers to the moſt material Objections againſt it, with ſome Remarks upon what has been written by Mr. *H.* and Mr. *R.*

By Danl De Foe Jus Dei life.

EDINBURGH,
Printed in the Year M. DCC. VI.

LETTER

TO A

FRIEND,

Giving an Account how the

Treaty of Union

BRITISH MUSEUM

AND

Printed in the Year M.DCC.VI.

SIR,

BEcause you are desirous to know, how the Treaty of Union was received here; and have sent me some of these Objections, you call the most material against it, I shall endeavour to satisfie you, as briefly as possibly I can.

The Treaty with the Minutes relating thereto, was laid before our Parliament at its first sitting down; and never did any thing, that came to be Voted in the House, meet with a more favourable Reception; the Question of *Proceeding upon it*, being carried by a very great Majority, which I hope, seems to foretell its Successful Event.

I would not have you conclude by this Vote that passed in the House, That there are any against an *Union* between the Two Kingdoms: For all are agreed, That nothing will be of more general Advantage to us; but the Division that was amongst the Members about the Nature of such an Union, gave Occasion to the Vote. However I must averr, That there never were less Appearances of Party amongst them than at present; so that I doubt not, but from their wise and prudent Deliberations, the Nation will receive Satisfaction. In the mean time, we must all wait with Patience and Submission for the Event; since the Parliament must be considered as the *Sacred Oracle of Heaven*, in all Civil Matters, but especia ly in this weighty and important Affair.

But I leave the Parliament to give you an Account, How the Treaty has been received in this City; and from what I am to tell you, I make no doubt, but you will conclude, That never did wilful Ignorance, Contradictions and Inconsistencies, triumph in our Streets at such an extravagant Rate,

as at this time, by reaſon of the Miſtakes and Miſrepreſentations, that have been made about it. Some are againſt an *Incorporating Union*, becauſe they do not, nor will not underſtand it, and are for a *Federal Union*, becauſe it is not to be underſtood; nor are there any, that can propoſe a tolerable Scheme about it, with reſpect to *Scotland* and *England* in their preſent Circumſtances. All have a general Notion of ſuch a thing; but how to apply it, is the Difficulty.

But ſuppoſe it practicable, yet it is more than probable, that *England* will never agree to it, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners having in Summer laſt given a very flat Denial to it. And if we will take the Pains to look 100 Years back, we ſhall find, That the Parliament of *Scotland* agreed to a *Federal Union*, when the *Engliſh* rejected it; tho the *Scots* were ſatisfied, That many things of the Product of *Scotland* ſhould not be carried into *England*, ſuch as their *Black-Cattel*, *&c.* For the Parliament of *England* was of Opinion, That tho their Country ſhould not be burdened with the Product of *Scotland*; yet no ſolid Peace cou'd be bottomed upon ſuch National Diviſions and Diſtinctions; but that if ever they entered into an Union with *Scotland*, it ſhould be upon ſuch a Condition chiefly, whereby both Nations ſhould be under the ſame Government and Legiſlative Power.

About the Year 1668, there was a Treaty of Commerce propoſed with *England*, which was rejected. And in 1670, the moſt part of our Commiſſioners were for a *Federal Union*, which likewiſe could not be obtained. So that from theſe Inſtances you may eaſily judge, what we are like to get, if we refuſe the Union which is offered; but towards the end of this Letter I ſhall ſpeak a little more on this Subject.

Some here exclaim againſt the Government, we have had in *Scotland* theſe 100 Years bygone to this purpoſe, That tho we pretend, our Nation is a Sovereign, Free, and Indepen-

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dent Kingdom; yet all our Parliaments and Councils have entirely been acted by *Engliſh* Influence, and we ſubjected to their Wills in every thing, that ſeemed for the Intereſt of *England*.

Whether this Accuſation be generally true or falſe, I ſhall not examine; but ſure I am, theſe People ſeem to be inconſiſtent with themſelves, when with the ſame Breath they run down the Treaty, which muſt certainly give a Remedy to what they complain of.

Here you may find ſeveral Perſons exalting an Union of Confederacy, and at the ſame time exclaiming againſt that Article of the Treaty concerning equall Duties, Cuſtoms and Exciſes in both Kingdoms; as if there could be an Union of Confederacy and a Communication with the *Engliſh* in their Trade, without equal Burdens.

Some extol *England* for a wiſe Nation, and yet at the ſame time are arguing, That a Communication of Trade might be granted to us without theſe Burdens; as if the *Engliſh* wou'd make themſelves notoriouſly remarkable for Folly and Stupidity. Since it is plain, that in this Caſe they might give over Trading, when underſold by us, and ſuch of themſelves, and *Hollanders*, who on the account of theſe Advantages would live amongſt us.

Others pretend, they know the Sentiments of *Scotland* about the Succeſſion, and aſſert, *That we cannot ſet up for a ſeparate King; that none but a Proteſtant will ſucceed to our Crown; and that upon the lamentable event of the Queen's Death, the greateſt Part of us will run in to the* Engliſh *Succeſſor as the only way to ſecure Peace*; and yet theſe People immediately after talk, *That the* Engliſh *will give us any Terms*: As if ſuch a wiſe Nation (as they confeſs *England* is) was not acquainted with the Diviſions, Animoſities, Circumſtances, and Inclinations of their neareſt Neighbours.

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Some extol the Alteration of our Fundamental Laws in King *Charles* the 2d's first Parliament; and others approve very justly the turning out of *the Bishops, the third Estate of Parliament* at the late Revolution; and yet both Exclaim against altering Fundamental Laws, and wou'd fain insinuate, That in the Treaty, there's a total Subversion of all the Glorious Structure our Predecessors have built.

Others quarrel, amongst other things, at the Charges the Nation will be put to, in sending up 16 Peers, and 45 Commons, to the Parliament of *Great-Britain:* And at the same time, both in Words and Writings, they cry out against that number, as a small dishonourable Representation.

Some are regreting the extream Poverty of the Nation, and Scarcity of Money, yet notwithstanding they exclaim against the Union, as a thing that will ruin us; not considering, that our case is such, that 'tis scarce conceivable, how any condition of Life, we can fall into, can render us more Miserable and Poor, than we are. For its very well known, that many of us live with Difficulty, and many Thousands of our nearest Relations, are obliged to leave their Country, for want of Bread and Employment.

Some are running down *English* Factions, Promises and Performances; and yet malitiously insinuating, That the Commissioners in the *Treaty*, and such Members of Parliament, as incline to the Union, are to get Mighty Things. As if these Noblemen and Gentlemen, wou'd put a present small Advantage, or a base Promise, in the Ballance with any thing, that they thought wou'd bring Destruction upon the Nation, and Ruine upon their Posterity. For with all respect to others be it spoken, these have considerable Stakes to hazard upon the bad Success of an Union.

Some are earnestly wishing a sudden Revolution, Success to the Affairs of *France*, and Confusion to the Presbyterian

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Government; But no sooner they fall a speaking of the Union, but they regret the Danger of our Church Government, as having no Security; and cry for Fasting and Praying, that God may protect his Church, and Defend his People. By which they give the greatest evidence of *Atheism* and *Prophanity*, that Hell it self can *Suggest*.

In a corner of the Street, one may see a *Presbyterian Minister*, a *Popish Priest*, and an *Episcopal Prelate*, all agreeing together in their discourse against the *Union*; but upon quite different Views and contradictory Reasons. The *Minister*, because he fears, the *Presbyterian* Church Government will be ruined, and so great encouragements will be given to *Popery* and *Prelacy*. The *Priest*, because his Darling Hopes will be disappointed, by the settling the Succession in the *Protestant* Line. And the *Prelate*, because he knows, the *Parliament* will make such a Security for the Presbyterian Church Government, as that it cannot be altered in *Scotland*, without saping the Fundation of the Union, and shaking the whole Fabrick of the *British* Constitution.

But mark here, That tho I bring in a Presbyterian Minister amongst such Company, yet, I would have you to know, that many of them have a very favourable Opinion of the Union; and I doubt not, but the *Parliament* will answer their Expectations as to the Securities, they desire for the Church Government.

Here you might likewise see, the *Dutch* and the *French* endeavouring to whiddle us out of our Senses, by the plausible *Popular Topics* of *Liberty, Property, Sovereignty and Independency*. The *Dutch*, because they run a great *Risque* of being Wormed out of their Herring-Fishing, that most valuable Branch of their *Trade*. The *French*, because of that vast Increase of *Power*, that will accresce to *Britain*, when *United*, whereby it will (with more Justice, than now when divided)

ed) be called the Bulwark of the Liberties of Europe, and Terror of the World. But I ſhall make the Grounds of their juſt Fears appear a little more plainly, when I fall to ſpeak of the Herring Fiſhing.

Having given you theſe few Remarks, I ſhall proceed to Anſwer your Objections and Difficulties againſt the Treaty, in the ſame order you have ſent them.

Your firſt Objection, is, *Upon the danger of the Church Government after an Union.* As to which, I have already given you ſome hints, and I add further, That this Project of the Union is not hatched by your Enemies; but by your entire Friends. In the next place, ſuch a Security, if not greater, can be given in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, as the Church Government hath at this time. For by the bye, you miſtake its Security entirely, if you think, it is founded on our *Claim of Right*, in its full Extent, with reſpect to its Eccleſiaſtick Judicatures. For tho by the Article of the *Claim of Right*, Epiſcopacy and any Superiority above Presbyters, is declared a Grievance, yet the Government of the Church by General Aſſemblies, Synods and Presbyteries, is only eſtabliſhed by ſubſequent Acts of Parliament, for no Article in the *Claim of Right*, can hinder a Parliament our from reducing Presbyters to what they are in *Holland*, nor exclude a Toleration to Epiſcopal Miniſters, in a moſt extenſive Senſe. And beſides, ſuch Parliaments, we may have, (which God forbid) that may overturn our *Claim of Right*. If this be the Caſe, Where hath the Presbyterian Government a greater Security, than it can have by an Act of the Parliament of *Great Britain* and a Fundamental Article of the Union? If it is ſecure in the Inclinations of the People, it will be more ſo, when joined with the powerful Intereſt of the Whig-Party in *England*, who to Ballance the Incroachments of the *High-Flyers*, muſt and will ſupport it. The Presbyterians have ſeveral times ventured

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their Lives, and Estates, for their Principles: What then should move any to attempt an Alteration in our Church Government after the Union, since what I have mentioned, will render it so difficult; especially when we shall lie at a greater distance from the Seat of Government?

Upon the whole Matter, I think there's no need for such Fears, since thereby we seem to distrust the Providence of God, and bewray a Diffidence in that Character of Excellency, we give to our Church. For if it be the True Church, it may indeed be under an Eclipse for a while, but its Light can never be extinguished, as some would have us to believe, if so be we are so blind as not to discern our Friends from our Enemies.

Your 2d: Objection, is upon the imaginary Discredit we undergo, in ceasing to be an Ancient Sovereign Kingdom.

The Objection is very popular; for Sovereignty and Antiquity, are words that sound very high, and receive a great Value from the Generality of Mankind. We have the Honour indeed to pretend to *Chastity*, (as some call it) having never been Conquered; but this should serve only to entice us to imitate the Conduct of a chaste Virgin, who, because she fears her own Weakness, and want of Resolution to continue long in that Condition, prudently enters into Wedlock; by which sort of Union, she acquires indeed the Name of being one Flesh with her Husband, yet at the same time, she remains that very numerical Honourable Person that she was before.

If one should offer this Advice to a poor *Spanish Don*, that he knew of a honourable Employment for him to follow, which tho it should chance to miss of making him prodigiously rich, yet it wou'd afford a plentiful Livelyhood to him and his Posterity, if so be he would lay aside his Idleness, strutting Deportment, and grand Paw, accompanied with mighty Boasts of his Noble Blood, and splendid Titles; I make no doubt,

but the *Don* would be ready to cut his Adviſer's Throat, for offering ſuch an Indignity to his Perſon and Family, tho all the World beſides, (every thing conſidered) wou'd look upon it as a very friendly and reaſonable Counſel.

I leave you to apply theſe Similes; and if they do not appear ſo ſerious as the Dignity of this Subject wou'd ſeem to require, you will as leaſt allow, that they contain an Anſwer much of a piece with the Objection.

But if there be any thing of moment in our Sovereignty and Antiquity, I believe you'll think, that neither of them are loſt in an *Incorporating Union* with *England*, if ſo be you will agree with the Learned *Grotius*, *de jur: belli & pacis. lib:* 2. *cap:* 9. § 9. which take in his own words,

Quod ſi quando uniantur duo Populi non amittentur jura ſed communicabuntur, ſicut Sabinorum, deinde Albanorum jus in Romanos transfuſum eſt, & una facta respublica, ut Livius loquitur. Idemque cenſendum de Regnis quæ non fœdere, aut eo duntaxat quod regem communem habeant ſed vera unitate junguntur.

This is ſo plain, that it needs no Commentar, and we have reaſon to think, that tho the old *Sabini* and *Albani* Incorporated with the *Romans*, yet their Poſterity were no leſs Remarkable for Honour and Antiquity, than they were before; tho they cou'd not act any more in a ſeparate way from the Nation they had united with.

Your 3d: Objection is upon the Loſs of our Parliaments; which leads me again in, to conſider a *Federal Union*, with reſpect to two Schemes I have heard of it.

The *Firſt*, is that wherein there may be a Continuation of the Parliaments in both Kingdoms, inſtructed with the ſame Powers they have at this time.

From this ſort of Union, there will ariſe an Equality of all Taxes, Duties, Cuſtoms and Exciſes, ſince a Communication of Trade will neceſſarily infer theſe on both Kingdoms, and

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from thence will follow this natural Conſequence, That this Union can never be laſting, unleſs the Parliament of *Scotland* follow the Footſteps of the Parliament of *England*, in every Particular relating to Publick Affairs; and tho we ſhould ſuppoſe each Parliament to have a Negative, yet that will ſignifie as little to *Scotland*, as it does to the ſeven *United-Provinces*; for it is very well known, that the Province of *Holland* influences all the other ſix at its pleaſure, becauſe it pays more than a Half of all the publick Taxes and Burdens: So we in *Scotland* may much more expect the ſame, when *England* pays near 40 times more than we.

The *Second* Sort of *Federal Union* is, That both Kingdoms retain their Parliaments, but that all things relating to publick Laws, Taxes, Trade, Peace and War, Leagues and Alliances, ſhould be lodged in the hands of Her Majeſty and Her Succeſſors, aſſiſted by the Advice and Conſent of a certain Number of Perſons, to be equally choſen out of both Kingdoms, under the Name of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, or any other we ſhall think fit.

By this *Federal Union*, you ſee all the Powers taken from the Parliaments in *Scotland* and *England*, except theſe of taking care of the Eſtabliſhed Church Government, Laws relative to private Rights and Appeals; for beſides theſe they will have none, if it be not to be ſo far ſubſervient to the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, as to ſee its Laws and Acts put in execution.

If you think, that a 3d. Scheme may be made up of both theſe, *viz.* That both Parliaments ſhould retain their preſent Powers, but that a common Repreſentation ſhould be choſen out of both Kingdoms, to determine in Differences that may happen between the Parliaments. You will run into a thouſand Difficulties about the Management of that Pro-

ject; which you will easily discover, if you descend into all the Particulars of their several Powers.

Now if any of these Schemes please you, let me ask you two Questions.

1*st*. What Security will the Church Government have in our own Parliaments, when the Administration of publick Affairs comes to be taken out of our hands, and that *Bishops* can then be but useless Tools, tho they were fitting in our Parliaments, since they were not to give Votes for burdening us with Cess and other Duties, nor consent for exalting the Prerogative, and diminishing the Liberties of the Subjects? For its plain by the first Scheme, that our Parliaments must follow the Measures of that in *England*, and by the 2d. Scheme, the least shadow of Administration in publick Business comes to be taken away, and devolved upon the common Representation of *Great-Britain*.

2*dly*. How can we expect, that ever *England* will agree to any of these *Federal Unions*? Since by the first, its a thousand to one, but the Parliaments divide and bring the two Nations into confusion; for the contrary cannot be supposed, unless at the same time we agree, that our Parliament shall follow, whatever Measures the Parliament of *England* shall take; which will be more dishonourable for us, than any thing can be pretended in an *Incorporating Union*.

And the second Scheme of this *Federal Union* has this insuperable Difficulty, that the 513 Commoners, who now compose the House of Commons in *England*, will never be brought without open Force, to quite with the Administration of publick Affairs, and have their Powers devolved upon any Parliament or Legislative Power above them.

If you consider the Difficulties in these Questions, and many others that will easily occurr, you may soon determine your self, as to what sort of Union will be most for the Ho-

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nour of *Scotland*, and the Intereſt of the whole Iſland of *Great-Britain*.

There is indeed leſs difficulty about continuing our Parliaments to change any thing neceſſary in the Laws relating to private Rights, and to determine in Appeals; but every body may ſee, even in that Caſe, that our Parliament muſt be ſubject to the Parliament of *Great-Britain*; and in the next place, when publick Buſineſs is taken out of our hands, the Members of ſuch a Parliament will not think it worth while to Meet; neither can any Penalties put upon them who will not meet, ſignify any thing, ſince the Executive Power will be lodged in Her Majeſty and Her Succeſſors, who poſſibly will take care they ſhould meet very ſeldom, to avoid giving any Occaſion of Differences that may happen between our Parliament and that of *Great-Britain*, upon imaginary Abuſes, Encroachments, and Violations of the Articles of the Treaty.

Your Fourth Objection is, That the Treaty impinges upon our Ancient Laws, Fundamental Conſtitutions, and particularly the *Claim of Right*.

No body can expect, That our Laws will meet with a better Fate than the *Scriptures*, which are ordinarly wreſted into a hundred different ſenſes, to ſupport as many various Opinions. I know the ſtrength of the Objection lyes, againſt taking away of our Parliament, and devolving its Power upon a Parliament of *Great-Britain*; and I yield, that the endeavouring to take away any of the Three Eſtates is Treaſon by our Law; but I challenge any Man to ſhow me a Law againſt diminiſhing the number of the Repreſentatives that compoſe each State; or any Act againſt adding the Three Eſtates ſo diminiſhed in their numbers, to the Parliament of *England*, and ſo to compoſe the Parliament of *Great-Britain*: For as there's no Law againſt encreaſing the Numbers of each

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State, so there's none against diminishing them; nor any hinderance, why the *Number* of the Peers that Sit in Parliament may not be reduced to 16, and the Barons and Burrows to 45. And as for joining our Parliament to that of *England*, it seems consonant to the very Opinion of these Learned Lawyers, whose Sentiments have so industriously been handed about some Weeks ago, to the Conviction of none, but these who were as much byassed as we may suppose the Advocates of Kings to be, when their Sovereign's great Maxim of State runs upon the old Rule, *Divide & impera.*

By which they must endeavour to keep Kingdoms separate, for attaining to the finishing Stroke of Empire; I mean Arbitrary and Despotick Power, whereby they make one *Nation* rub upon another, till they crumble both into Dust.

Your *5th.* Objection is, That our Representation will be so small in the House of Commons of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, that the *English* may Out-vote us, to the discouragement of every thing that is the Product of this Kingdom, as of our *Linnen*, *Black-Cattel*, and *Herring-Fishings.*

This is founded upon a bare Supposition without the least shadow of a Probability; and tho we had some Grounds for these Jealousies, yet greater Probabilities on the other side must alwise ballance our Determinations.

Allow me to make but one Supposition, that is, That the ancient Rules of Representing in the *English* Parliament were laid aside, in order to deliberate upon new ones; I suppose these of the Shire of *Middlesex*, wherein are contained the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, might justly pretend to a greater Number than *Cornwal* now represented by 44, because of bearing a much greater Proportion of the publick Burdens of *England*; and yet it is not probable, that such a Reason wou'd obtain, since *England* suffers very little by these unequal Representations in the Parliament.

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The same Parity of Reason will hold in the Constitution of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*; for the Shire of *Middlesex* will have far greater reason to Complain than *Scotland*; since it contains near as many Inhabitants, is vastly Richer, and will pay at least ten times more of the publick Burdens of *Great-Britain*; and yet in the Parliament it will be Represented only by 8; whereas *Scotland* will be represented by 45.

But suppose the whole Parliament of *Scotland* was assumed in its full Members, yet our Barons and Burrows wou'd make up little more than a Fourth part of the House of Commons of *Great-Britain*; so that you see, let us put our Representation in what shape we please, yet if *England* will violate the sacred Ties of an *Union*, and join to oppress us, it will be impossible to prevent it; but this last is no more to be supposed, than that the *English* will ruine and destroy themselves, by the Factions and Divisions that must inevitably happen upon a Breach between the Two Nations.

The Case being, that we cannot signifie much tho the Parliaments were joined in their full Numbers, I cannot see why we should desire it, since it is certain, that our Representatives wou'd carry at least One hundred thousand Pounds sterling yearly out of the Kingdom, besides giving great Discouragements in our Manufactures and Inland Consumpt by their absence, which by no means cou'd be ballanced with any Advantages we cou'd reap, by our full Representation; and for that very Reason I am afraid, that we have already too many, and am of Opinion, that the more we are discouraged from coming up to Court, the greater Advantage will redound to *Scotland*.

As for your Fears of discouraging our Linen Manufactures, Black-Cattel, and Herring Fishings, I know they are occasioned by some of our late *Authors*, who pretend, that there may be some interfiering Intereſts on the part of *England*, to

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discourage these Branches of our Product, as that the Matters of the Woollen Manufactures will endeavour to bring in the Custom amongst us of burying in Woollen, to the discouragement of our *Linen*; and that the Breeders of Black-Cattel in *England*, will endeavour to discourage the importing of ours, and that these concerned in the Pitchard Herring Fishings, will oppose the setting up of Fishings for white Herrings in this Kingdom.

As to the first I am of Opinion, That tho the Custom of burying in Woollen were introduced amongst us, it would rather tend to our Advantage than to our Loss; for by the *Union* there will be a Foreign Mercat opened up to us in the *West-Indies*, which will take off a great deal more Linen than we now bestow on the Dead; so that our Linen Manufactures can suffer no prejudice: And the Burying in Woollen will go a great length to consume the superfluous Wool in the Kingdom; for after the *Union*, it will be much better to Export the Linen which we now bury under Ground, than let our Wool rote, because it can neither be Manufactured nor Exported.

That Supposition about the Discouragement of our Black-Cattel, proceeds (I believe) from a Mistake in point of Fact; for it has not been out of Kindness to this Nation, nor from any liking to *Scots* Beef, that the *English* have hitherto taken of our Black-Cattel; but the true Reason was for the the Improvement of their Grounds, since our Cattel thrive and grow fat upon the Refuse of their Grass, which neither these of *England* or *Ireland* will taste; so that upon this head, there never can be any interfiering.

As for the Discouragement of our Herring Fisheries for encouraging their *Pilchards*, there's far less probability; for it is not what the *English* pleases to Encourage or Discourage, that will be the Rule of Choice in Foreign Mercats, there being no compatison between these two Sorts of Herrings; so that

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there will be alwise greater Demands for ours, and consequently not the least shadow of Reason, to discourage a *Scots* Product of that nature, which will tend more to the enriching the *Island of Britain*, than all the *East and West India Plantations.*

Your *6th.* Objection is, That the Union will occasion great Devastations in *Scotland*, and particularly in *Edinburgh*; for that great Numbers of our Nobility and Gentry will reside in *England*, which will occasion the sinking of our Rents both in City and Country, and tend to the Discouragement of Tradesmen and Labourers.

This I confess is a heavy Charge against an *Union*; but if things be narrowly considered, the contrary will with greater probability appear; for if an *Union* bring us Trade and Business, which I have many Reasons to believe, then there must certainly follow a proportionable increase of our Inhabitants.

For instance, if Shipping increase in the *Firth of Forth*, then must the City of *Edinburgh* prosper and never till then; especially since it is to continue the Seat of our *Ecclesiastick and Civil Judicatures.*

I would not have you think, that *Edinburgh* will go to ruine by the want of our Parliament; for Experience may tell us, that it never was in better Circumstances, than when our Parliaments met but once in 5 or 6 Years, and never in worse, but since they met so frequently; for it is well known to many of the Burghers, that a Session is of more general Advantage, both to the City and the Country about, than a *Parliament.*

And pray, what Reason have you to think, that more of our People will live in *England* after the *Union*, than at this time; for that can never be, unless we shall suppose, there will be less Trade and Employment in *Scotland* after the Union

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than at this time, for tho it may happen that several is now living in *Scotland* may go ofner to *England*, yet in their place several thousands of our Country men now living in *England*, wou'd come down to us, if they but saw a Possibility of getting Bread.

If we wou'd reason justly upon this Head, we ought to reflect on the Condition of *Ireland*: For tho their unhappy Circumstances in Point of Trade makes a scarcity of Money among them, and tho by reason of their Subjection and entire Dependance on *England*, they have many Occasions for attending the *Court*; yet notwithstanding of these Discouragements, that *Nation* increases daily in People, and I am credibly informed, that its Capital City *Dublin* has almost doubled its Buildings and Inhabitants within these 50 Years. The true Reason of all this is partly, because *Ireland* is a plentiful Country, and partly because of their Trade and Shipping, which tho' much bounded and restricted by *England*, yet is vastly greater than ours.

You say, What Encouragement will Trades-men have here, when after the *Union* nothing but what is *English* will please us? But I am much perswaded, that the *Union* will have a quite contrary effect: For with greater probability it may be thought, that the foolish unreasonable Lodge of desiring Foreign Things will fall between us and *England*, since after the *Union* we come to be one Kingdom and one People, and by consequence will have all sorts of things made as well amongst our selves as at *London*! So that in that Case there will be no more difference made between our Workmen and these of *England*, than there is between these of *Newcastle* and these of *London*.

You'll never observe at *London*, *Scots-men*'s Work discredited because of their Country; yet here amongst our selves some think they can do nothing right, which is either an ill

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grounded Opinion, or if true, we occasion it our selves by discouraging them so much. But after the *Union*, when we fall into more Business, there will be an Intercourse of Workmen as well as other things, which will be found to tend both for the Honour and Improvement of these who now live amongst us; So that there can never ensue any Depopulation on that account.

Neither does it hold, that Countries and Cities lying at a distance from the Seat of Government, are poor and miserable; for if these Countries or Cities have a Subject of Trade with the Conveniences of Firths, Bays and Harbours, they must thrive in spight of all Discouragements: An Instance whereof we have of the Cities of *Marseilles* and *Thoulon*, which tho' they lie in a very bad Country, for its Tyrannical Despotick Government, and are distant near 500 Miles from the Seat of Government; yet being possessed of the above-mentioned Conveniences, they enjoy more Shipping and Trade, and perhaps more Riches than all *Scotland*.

I never heard any deny, but *Britain* by this *Union* wou'd vastly increase in People; How then can it be possible, that *Scotland* shall be depopulated? For since it must be acknowledged by all, that our Fishings, Linnen Manufactures, Black Cattle, Lead, Coals and Corn, will afford a very great Subject of Trade, it's impossible to conceive, that we shall desert these Advantages, and leave our Country desolate to inhabit another, where we cannot expect to find Employment.

What if *England* by this *Union* should in time double its Inhabitants? yet in regard their Ground cou'd not maintain them, there wou'd be great Demands upon all the Product of *Scotland*; so that our Lands wou'd be so far from falling in their Rents, that they must rise: And this Rule will hold true for ever, That the Rents of a Country must rise in Proportion to the Increase of its People and Business: So that if

the People of *Scotland* encreaſe, the Rents muſt improve through the whole Country; but here you'll ſay, lyes the Difficulty, which you will be the eaſier ſolved of, in conſidering the Anſwer I ſhall give you to what follows.

Your 7th. Objection is, That you have not Faith enough to believe, that any greater Proportion of Trade will enſue to *Scotland* after the *Union*, than we enjoy at preſent: And that tho' you have heard of ſome general things as to our Advancement that way, yet you want to be informed of the Particulars.

You know I was never bred a Merchant, nor do I pretend to demonſtrate all our Advantages in that Matter, therefore I ſhall only give you a hint of ſuch Things that do occur to me.

By this Union then, we are privileged to import into *England* our Black Cattel, and Linnen Cloth, which if the *Union* does not ſucceed, will either be Prohibited, or be a very precarious Trade; and theſe two Branches of our Product have yielded to us, and will continue to bring us in, upwards of 130000 *l. Sterlin* yearly.

By this *Union*, we have Liberty to carry our Linnen directly to the Plantations; which beſides other Advantages, will ſerve to keep in a vaſt Sum, which we now ſend out to bring us in Tobacco.

We have likewiſe all Duties taken off our Linnen, when imported into *England*, which will ſave us near 30000 *l. Sterl.* Yearly.

Our Coals will likewiſe bring us in a conſiderable Sum, and be of great Advantage to all In-land Coal Maſters.

All our Courſe Manufactures will yield us conſiderable Profit in the Weſt-*Indies*.

All ſorts of Grain, by Reaſon of the preſent *Engliſh* Drawbacks, and other Encouragements that will (I hope) be given

given, will both bring us in Money, and keep a good Medium in this Country between Scarcity and too great Plenty.

Many other things I could mention, but shall insist upon our Fishings, and shew you, That an Improvement that way will not depend upon a bare Possibility and a *may be:* but must as certainly be, as it's certain a knowing understanding Merchant must follow out that, which is most for his Advantage.

All our Projects about Fishings, have several ways Miscarried, but chiefly because we wanted Stocks sufficient enough to set about such Undertakings; for in Fishing to any purpose for the Advantage of our selves, or our Country, we must be satisfied with a very small Gain, such as 5 or 6 *per Cent.* which can never succeed well amongst those that Fish with small Stocks.

For instance, a Man that has a Stock of 20000 Merks, if he sets about Fishing, and will be satisfied with the *Dutch* Profit, 6 *per Cent.* then he makes yearly 1200 Merks, with which he gets a Subsistance for his Family; but a Man that has only 10000 Merks, must by *Hook & Crook, as we say,* make 12 *per Cent.* or else he cannot live: This is only to shew you, That without great Stocks, we can signify little to set up such a Fishing Trade, as will be of any Advantage to the Kingdom; and since we have not such, we must seek the Assistance of our *Neighbours,* who upon the event of an *Union,* both will, and must set about it, to save vast Sums of *Money,* which at present they yearly are obliged to carry in to *Sweden, Denmark,* and *Norway,* to purchase what is necessary for them of the Product of these Countries.

Now to demonstrate to you, what Advantages this will be to *Scotland,* I shall take it at its worst View; And I do assert, That if *England* should set about a Herring Fishing, *Scotland* should gain extreamly by it, tho' there was not one *Scots Man* employed in the undertaking.

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To prove this, I shall suppose, that some *English* Merchants in *London* should join in setting up this Trade, and for that end should build 200 Herring Busses in the *Thames*, a greater or lesser Number. These being Equipt with *English* Sailers, and all Materials necessary for Fishing are sent down to the Coast of *Scotland*: And after they have taken as many Last of Herrings as possible they can, they carry them to the usual Mercats, in *Poland*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*; and having Sold them, they purchase chiefly Masts, Planks, Dails, and Iron, with other *Materials* for Shipping. Now, it is certain, that these bulky Goods can never be returned to *England* in any other but Ships of Burden; therefore these Busses cannot go back to the *Thames* again, but must for ever remain in *Scotland*. For to what purpose shall we imagine, that their Owners will bring them to *England*, through all the Hazards of a long Voyage, and send them back yearly to the Fishing, when with as much Safety, less Trouble, and perhaps less Expense, they may remain constantly in *Scotland*?

Which if they do, very considerable Sums will be yearly sent down for their Maintainance, besides the building of Harbours, and perhaps of Villages for their Conveniency: Now, if such Advantages will accrue to us, tho' we have no Concernment in that Trade, what will we not gain, when our *Merchants* and Seamen shall be joined with the *English* for promoting such a National Advantage?

There needs be no such Objections made here, as, *How are we sure the* English *will help us in our Fishing? And why did they not do it before, since they were both in Liberty and Safety?* For they must do it, as I told you already, to save the Export of their *Money*, and to make an easy Purchase of all the Product of the Northern Kingdoms.

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The *Hollanders* Fish yearly upon our Seas Herrings to the value of a Million *Sterling* and above, which furnishes them with all their Materials for Shipping, Corns, and other Necessaries; so that for a little Labour, they enjoy what costs *England* infinite Sums; wherefore we may easily see a Necessity for them to fall into that Trade: And tho' the *Hollanders* have gotten the start, and are now in a Condition to Fish cheap, yet a few Years will enable the Island of *Britain*, to Fish to better Advantage, and so by degrees enhanse that valuable Treasure.

The Reasons why the *English* did not attempt this Herring Fishing before, are very obvious, for they know it could never be done to any Advantage, if they did not join with the *Scots* in it, since the *Hollanders* were before hand with them; and if they joined with us, their Stocks wou'd always be in Danger, so long as we continued a separate People, and under distinct Governments, but a happy *Union* must necessarly alter the Case, and remove all Jealousies from among us.

Besides this sort of Fishing, there are others which will deserve Encouragement: As likewise many smaller Branches of our Product, which ly now neglected because we want Stocks, Hearts, and Hands to set about them. But after the *Union*, we have all the Reason in the World to believe, that since the improving of *Scotland*, will both tend to the Honour and Interest of *Great Britain*, there will not be wanting what ever shall be thought Necessary for that end: So that, with many solid Reasons, we may conclude, That by this *Union*, the Inhabitants of *Scotland* will be encreased, both in City and Country, and by consequence, there will arise a proportionable improvement of our Rents.

Your 8th Objection upon the Burden of the *English* Excises that shall take place after the *Union*.

I know there were great Endeavours used by the *Scots Commissioners at* London: For clearing this Matter, to as the

Scots

Scots Tippony Ale might be reckoned as small Beer, and pay the Excise accordingly, but all to no purpose. I wish with all my Heart, that had been granted; not so much that I apprehend it will bee an unsupportable Burden to us: but because it wou'd have calmed our Jealousies and Fears, and given a more peaceable and chearful beginning to an *Union*.

However, I doubt not to make it evident, that this Matter is not so terrible as appears to many, who are not acquainted with the *English* Methods of paying Excise, nor with the Eases that are given in Collecting it.

The Excise of strong Bear and Ale in *England*, is 4 *s.* & 9 *d. sterl*; the Barrel, which consists of 34 *English* Gallons; and this Barrel runs between 94 and 98 *Scots* Pints, according to the most exact Computations that ever were made of it.

All Beer and Ale brown above the value of 6 *s.* the Barrel, pays this Excise in *England*, so that our *Tippony Ale* seems to fall under that Denomination and Regulations.

That which is called small Beer and Ale in *England*, and is in my Opinion, as good as our *Tippony Ale*, pays only 15 Pence the Barrel.

I have given you the full extent of the *English* Excises, which tho' their Brewers do not consider as intolerable Exactions; yet for their own ease and profit they commonly elude them by brewing a small Quantity of very strong Beer, and mixing it up to a greater Quantity of a smaller sort, having paid the Excise before the Mixture. But I shall not insist on that Method, tho' I'm convinced if it was used in *Scotland*, our Ale should fall no dearer after the *Union* than it is at this time.

I know some People have industriously spread about, That after the *Union*, our Ale which now gives 2 sh. *Scots* the Pint, will then give Six-pence or a Groat at least; so 'tis no great wonder to hear such Murmurings amongst People, when they

they are misled by Lies and Misrepresentations. But to show you how little reason there is for such Out-cries, I shall take this Excise at its worst View, and demonstrate, That tho the *English* wou'd make us pay the great Excise of 4 *sh.* and 9 *d.* the Barrel for our Two-pence Ale; yet after the Union it will be sold with all the ordinary Profits to the Brewers and Retailers, for 2 *sh.* and 4 *d. Scots* at most.

In the first place then you must know, That by Act of Parliament there are allowed over all *England* 2 Barrels in 23, which gives a considerable ease, *viz.* of 9 *sh:* and 6 *d. sterl.* in that Quantity.

Next, Tho we should compute 94 *Scots* Pints only to be in an *English* Barrel, which is the lowest Computation that has been made; yet even in that Case, our Pint will be burthened at most but with 8 Pennies *Scots:* And from this we may easily consider, what the price of each Pint will come to.

The common Rate of the Pint of *Tippony* Ale is now computed after this manner: 1 sh. *Scots* for the Malt, 2 pennies for the Fire, and 2 pennies for the Brewer's Labour, in all 16 pennies *Scots*; and if the Brewer pay the *Excise* of 3 pennies on the Pint, as is settled by our *Law*, then he is obliged to take from the Retailers about 18 or 20 Pennies for the Pint. This Ale afterwards, by reason of the *Profit* the Retailer must have, comes to be Sold for 22 pennies, or *Tippons* at most.

You see here, that the Brewer values his Ale only at 16 pennies, before he pays the Excise; Now, the *Scots* Excise falling after the *Union*, there must be payed by him the 8 pennies on the Pint, which is the *English* Excise; So that he canot afford his Ale to the Retailers under Tippons, and the Retailers, because they must have some Profit, cannot sell it under 2 *s.* and 2 *d. Scots*, or *Tippons* and a Plack at the

very outmoſt; So that you may obſerve, that all the Melancholy Accounts that have been given of this Affair, come to be very ill Grounded, when the Matter is fully conſidered.

Have we not had Annexed and Additional Exciſes upon our Ale to 5 pennies in the *Pint* ? and over and above all that, an Allowance of 2 pennies more to ſome of our chief Burrows; ſo that the Exciſe in theſe Places, amounted to 7 pennies *Scots*: Do we then conclude, that the *Engliſh* Exciſe of 8 pennies will entirely ruin us, when our Trade and Buſineſs ſhall be encreaſed, and conſequently our Money a great deal more plentiful than at this time?

Let us likewiſe conſider, that the Exciſes of *England* are Collected with the ſame Eaſes as they are in *Scotland*, and not at all exacted according to the Rigour of the *Law*. As likewiſe, that their Country *Brewers* are not abuſed by the Exciſe-men; for the *Neighbour* Gentlemen who are Juſtices of Peace, Judge and Determine in all their Differences, which after the *Union*, by an expreſs Article in the Treaty, will be done by our own Court of Exchequer, who cannot be ſuppoſed to Treat us with Rigour in a Matter of this kind.

Yet notwithſtanding of all I have ſaid, it muſt be acknowledged, it will be a Burden both upon the *Heretors*, & the Brewers: but not ſo great as was pretended; and the leſs ſtill, that we hope ſuch Encouragements will be given by way of Draw-back upon the exporting of our Grains, that they cannot ly as a Drug upon our *Hands*. *However*, I am ſtill in hopes, that after the *Union*, all our Tipponie Ale will be computed only as ſmall *Beer*, and conſequently will pay only 15 Pence the *Barrel*, which will be 12 Pence cheaper than now.

Your *6th*. Objection is, That our being lyable to equal Cuſtoms with the *Engliſh*, will be a heavy Burden to *Scotland*.

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In Answer to which, I desire you to take notice, That the Customs affect nothing but Foreign Goods & Luxury, and that all the Product of *Britain* will be free to the Inhabitants, of any Imposition whatsoever; so that, if we design to satisfy our selves as to our Meat, Drink, Furniture, and Apparel, with such things as are of the Product of *Great Britain*, then we shall not be sensible of what you call a heavy burden; but if there are any amongst us, who must have these *Foreign* Materials of *Luxury*, I hope they will prove to be Persons of considerable Wealth, and so ought in Reason to pay Dear for their Extravagancies.

I grant we want necessarily somethings from abroad, for which we must pay dearer Customs after the *Union*, than we do at present, such as, *Iron*, *Lint-seed*, *Hemp*, *Sugar*, *Tobacco* *Tar*, *Pitch*, *Cotton*, *Copper*, *Masts*, *Dails*, *Planks*, and some other things perhaps not absolutely necessary, but even the Duties of these have been most unfairly represented to the Nation, by reason of gross Mistakes, as to the *English* Rates, which were afterwards acknowledged.

However, we see a Pamphlet spread about within these two or three Days, making a Comparison between the *Scots* and *English* Customs, wherein, tho' the Author has acted a better part than many others, yet he is not without Partiality in some of his Accompts; and in others, especially that of the Equivalent, entirely mistaken. I shall only take notice here of the Duties he makes of Iron and Lint-seed, as being these which make the greatest noise.

That of Iron in *Scotland*, he makes to be 10 *sh. sterl.* and 4 *d.* the Tun, and in *England*, 1 *l.* 17 *s. sterl.* I cannot disprove the thing, and yet it needs create very little Trouble. For *First*, After the *Union* we may have *Iron* free of Duty from the *English* Mines, if we please. And in the next place, admittting we should pay 1 *l.* 6 *s. ster.* and 8 *d.* more for the

Tun of *Iron* after the *Union* than at present; yet 'tis certain, this wou'd be no great Burden, since all *Scotland* does not consume yearly above 450 Tuns at 2000 *l.* Weight the Tun.

The Duty of a Hogshead of Lint seed in *Scotland*, is, 1 *s. sterl.* and 8 *d.* and in *England* he makes it 4 *s.* which by the by, is a Mistake in 2 *s.* and yet 6 *s.* lower than it was called at first; but admitting it was 4 *s.* the Hogshead. I cannot see how it cou'd discourage our Linnen Manufactures, since after the *Union* they will enjoy what will be of greater Advantage to them, than that Duty can be of Loss, *viz.* The Duties taken off their *Linnen*, when carried into *England*.

But you cannot expect that Men will be juster to the Nation, than they are to *GOD Almighty*; for we commonly Repine for what we want, but are seldom or never Thankful for what we have; nor do we ballance our Losses on way by our Profits another.

As for the Duties of all the other above-mentioned Foreign necessars, I own that some of them will prove greater than now: And 'tis very plain, that some of them will be Cheaper, such as Tobacco, Sugar and Tar: But in short, as to all Customs whatsomever, I give you the following two Particulars to consider upon, That you may form just Notions of the Customs in General, before you descend into particulars.

1*mo.* That tho' the Customs in the *English* Book of Rates, are valued at the highest, yet they are exacted like our own, with very considerable Eases to the Merchants, such as, particularly a Discount of 10 *per Cent.* upon all punctual Payments and ready Money and 15 *per Cent.* as a Discount upon ready payments of the Duties on Salt.

2*do.* That tho' the Customs were never so great and rigorously exacted in *England*, yet if *Scotland* design to Unite with that Kingdom, either by an *Incorporating* or *Federal Union*, we must resolve to pay equally with them all Burdens that do, or may affect Trade. For the natural preliminary

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nary of a happy Union, is Equality in all Duties that may influence Trade; so that one Kingdom may not undersel and ruin another. And 'tis to no purpose to enquire, for what Reasons and Causes these Burdens are laid on, since 'tis certain they must be paid equally by all: But I shall trouble you no more of this, till I fall upon answering your Difficulties as to the *Equivalent*.

Your 9th Objection is upon the Equivalent, wherein you frame the following Queries and Difficulties, which I shall answer in their order.

Q. 1*mo*. You ask me, *Why are we engaged to pay our part of the* Englisb *Debts, since that seems to be a piece of Injustice to* Scotland?

R. There is an absolute necessity for this, because if we unite, and have a Communication with the *Englisb* in their Trade, we must (as I have said already) pay equal Duties and Customs with them; now many of these Duties and Customs are imposed for Payment of the *Englisb* Debts, whereby the paying of their Debts and the paying of their Customs come to be inseparable. And this is so necessary, that tho' a Federal Union were practicable, and we were to unite in such; yet there wou'd be a necessity to pay our Proportion of their Debts by the same Rule, that we were to pay their Customs: But how can we suffer any more by this than you wou'd do if I should desire you to pay a hundred Pounds of my Debt, providing I gave you first the Money to pay it with? The Case is the same, with respect to the Equivalent and the *Englisb* Debts, since all the Sums we pay for that end will either be advanced to us or repaid.

Q. 2. *Why then is not the Equivalent given to the Merchants and these other Persons who pay these Duties?*

R. The Equivalent is given to *Scotland*, but cannot be given to these who pay the Duties, for that wou'd be the taking with one hand and giving with another, whereby there

wou'd

wou'd enſue a prodigious Inequality between the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Traders: For Inſtance, If a Wine-Merchant in *Scotland* ſhould pay *Engliſh* Duty upon the Wine, but immediately thereafter have the ſame returned back to him again, then 'tis plain, that the Wine-Merchants in *Scotland* wou'd ruin all theſe in *England*, and the ſame will hold with reſpect to all other Merchandize.

Q: 3*tio*. *Why is the Equivalent that is mentioned in the Minutes*, viz. 398085 lib: 10 ſh. Sterl. *ſo much valued, ſince we are to pay it back again for the Debts of* England *in a Term of Years.*

R. We are to have this Equivalent not as the Price of Selling our Country, as ſome maliciouſly ſay, but upon a very juſt and honourable Reaſon, *viz.* Becauſe it is to be paid back again in a Term of Years for the *Engliſh* Debts: And we ought to value it, becauſe it is a Loan for ſetting us up to Trade, which I doubt extremely could be raiſed upon any Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, there being ſcarce the third of that Sum in the whole Nation. And, pray tell me, If you were a Merchant, and were a little decayed as to your Stock, wou'd you not think your ſelf obliged to any Man that wou'd give you Money to ſet up with; and could you take it ill, if you was to pay back the Money in the ſpace of 15 Years? I believe, every Body would think the Lender did you a kindneſs, and I think you'll not diſcern any Diſparity in thir two Caſes.

Q: 4. *How are we ſure to get this Equivalent?*

R: Very ſure, ſince the Publick Faith of *England* will be deeper engaged by a ſolemn Treaty, than by any Act of Parliament: Now it's certain, that *England* muſt be very nice as to its Credit; for if ever it ſhould loſe that Reputation, which it has gained, that Nation would be ruined for ever; but we have a ſufficient proof of their Publick Faith, ſince there's never a Man in *England* but would rather lend his

Money

Money to the Publick than to any private Persons, tho upon the best Security; no Nation in the World being more just and punctual in their Payments than they.

Q. 5to. *Will that Equivalent be sent down to* Scotland *in* specie?

R. Perhaps not in Carts indeed, tho if we have a mind, we may get it even that way; but suppose a part of it should be remitted by Bills, and a part sent down in *specie*; Yet that will not alter the Case: For perhaps some Merchants here will desire some part of that Money to be paid to them at *London*.

Q. 6to. *Will not People who are to get their Shares of that money, be cheated by the Commissioners, who by the Treaty are to dispose of it here?*

R. 'Tis very improbable they shall, since it will be the Honour and Interest of the Parliament of *Great-Britain* to see that Money paid honestly in to these who have Right thereto, by reason of their being concerned in the *Scots Publick* Debts or *African* Company.

Q. 7mo. *Will we get no other Recompense for engaging in our proportionable Burden of the* English *Debt, except that Sum of* 398085 lib. 10 sh. Sterl. *since we may chance to pay a greater Proportion of these Debts, than is calculated, when our Customs and Excises shall encrease?*

R. The Equivalent is calculated upon the Proportion we pay of our present Customs, and excises towards the *English* Debts; but if these triple, as I have good reason to believe they will, upon account of our entering under the *English* Customs, then the Equivalent will be in proportion to their Rise, and consequently worth in Value about 1194256 lib. 10 sh. *Sterlin*; and when the Salt-Duties take place, or if our Customs and Excises should be quadrupled or more, then the Equivalent would be vastly greater.

Q. 8vo.

Q. 8vo, *Since many of these Equivalents will fall to be paid after the Union, how can we expect Justice, when the Parliament of* Britain *will be both Judge and Party?*

R. That's very easy both in the Conception and in the Practice; for the Parliament of *Britain* has no more to do but to order these Equivalents to be spent within *Scotland*, for *maintaining the Poor, Building of Harbours and Docks, encouraging of Manufactures and Fishings, Building of Towns, Churches, or any other Publick Works*; and we may the easier conceive this very practicable, since the setting about these Publick Works will redound to the Benefit, Interest and Honour of the whole *Island*; but *Scotland* in particular will reap the Advantage, since that Money is to be spent amongst our selves, which is all we ought to project.

Q. 9no. *What is the reason that some People gave out a few weeks ago, that there were gross mistakes in the Calculation of the Equivalent?*

R. No Body can be answerable for faults in the Printing or Transcribing the Minutes of the *Treaty*, but when the *principal Calcul* that was adjusted at *London*, comes to be produced, all Difficulties of that sort will be cleared.

Q. 10mo. *What is the Reason, that the* Scots *Commissioners for the* Union *did not foresee, That the Equivalent of* 398088 l. 10 sh. Sterlin *will be exhausted in Payments for the* English *Debts in the space of eleven Years or thereby, as seems to be agreed by two late Pamphlets.*

R. These two Pamphlets run upon a very obvious mistake, for they suppose, that we are to pay Yearly towards the Debts of *England* 44697 Pounds *Sterlin*, which wou'd indeed exhaust the Equivalent in eleven Years. But these Gentlemen who made that Calcul, did not take notice, that *Scotland* was to pay that Sum only till *September* 1710, for after that time we are to pay only about 22716 Pounds; so that there

there will ſink 21981 Pounds in *Scotland*, and in *England* 982846, that is ſome more than two Parts of three of all the Cuſtoms in *Britain*, in regard that the Debts for which they are appropriated will be paid. But if it ſhould happen, that ſome of theſe Debts ſhould ſtill remain unpaid after *September* 1710, and that the *Parliament of* Great-Britain ſhould be obliged by new Acts to continue any of theſe Cuſtoms, for compleating their Payment; in that Caſe *Scotland* is to have an Equivalent for paying their Proportion of theſe Debts, as is expreſly ſtipulated by the Treaty.

Q. 11. *What Advantage will ariſe to* Scotland *from the Equivalents to be paid after the Union, ſince they ſeem to be but our own Money given back?*

R. I grant that theſe Equivalents are our own Money, as you ſay; but I would have you to conſider, that the greateſt part of the Money in *Scotland* after the *Union* will ariſe from the *Union* it ſelf, *viz.* by a Communication of Trade, and from a Loan (as you call it) of 398085 lib: 10 ſh: *Sterlin*, for a Term of Years, which is given chiefly to ſet us to Buſineſs.

I would have you likeways to conſider, that it will be a vaſt Advantage to *Scotland*, that we are to keep our Money amongſt us after the *Union*, and that it is not all called in to the Publick Treaſury of *Great Britain*, eſpecially ſince even without an Union, it is in Her Majeſty's Power to ſend for all the Money that ariſes from the Cuſtoms and Exciſes in *Scotland*, and employ them in *England* as ſhe pleaſes; for by our Law both the Cuſtoms and the Exciſes of *Scotland* are annexed to the Crown, and may be diſpoſed by our Sovereigns at their pleaſure.

Wherefore theſe Equivalents will be very valuable to us, tho' they have their Riſe from our own Money.

Now I have anſwered all your *Queries*: But before I leave the Subject, I ſhall give you the true *Anatomy of the Equivalent*

to be given to *Scotland* after the Union; which in ſhort comes to this, That whatever Duties are applied by the *Engliſh* for payment of their Debts, the ſame will be applied among us for the Improvement of *Scotland*: For tho' all the *Equivalents* were ſpent upon levelling our Mountains and other as ridiculous Works, yet being ſpent among our ſelves, they anſwer their chief Deſign; and many thouſands of poor People, Work-men and Trades-men, will thereby get Employments: So that *Scotland* and *England* as to this Matter may be compared to two Men that have conſiderable Eſtates, but the one far greater than the other; and let me ſuppoſe them to have their Rents equally well paid, yet there will be this Difference between the two, that the one who has the great Eſtate, has a great deal of Debt, and ſo, moſt of his Rents will go for payment of his Debts; but the other who has the leſſer Eſtate, has no Debt, ſo that his Rents go to the Improvement of his Fortune.

I ſhall not trouble you much more with the *Equivalents*, but do intreat you to conſider the Minutes of the *Treaty*, and the *Engliſh* Acts of Parliaments impoſing the ſeveral Duties, Cuſtoms and Excifes, whereby you'll be in a condition either to anſwer your own Scruples, or upon better Reaſons to form other new Difficulties: And ſo I'll proceed to your 11th Objection againſt the Articles of the Treaty.

Your 11th Objection is *upon the Duties of Salt*.

I cannot deny but theſe Duties will fall to be heavier after the Union than at this time, tho they will be very far from producing ſuch a Sum as is generally pretended, which we may very eaſily gueſs at by what theſe Duties produce yearly in *England*, which is not 100000: Now let us conſider, that *Scotland* contains ſcarce a 6th part of the People of *England*, and that after the Union we ſhall not have ſuch Fleets of Ships to Victual with Salt Proviſions, as the *Engliſh* have at

this time; So consequently we cannot well reckon, that the Duties of Salt in *Scotland* will amount to above a tenth of what is consumed in *England* at this present time, which will fall to be about 19500 Pounds yearly.

But suppose our Proportion should be much greater, yet *Scotland* can sustain no loss by these Duties, since they are mostly appropriated for payment of the Debts of *England* contracted before the Union, and consequently that we shall get an Equivalent for them, or rather retain them still in *Scotland*.

I say, we may retain them still in *Scotland*, and the same of all other Duties appropriated for the Debts of *England*, since 'tis to no purpose to think, we shall after the Union send up what we are immediately to get returned as the Equivalent; for it is sufficient that these Duties be raised upon the People, tho they be not sent away to *England*, because that answers exactly the design of paying equal Burdens in both Kingdoms, *viz.* that no Part of *Britain* may undersel another.

But whether the *Money* be sent away to come back to us again under the name of an Equivalent, or whether it be kept in our Treasury of the Equivalents amongst our selves, is just one and the same thing both to us and the *English*, providing the thing be done.

This being the Case, that most of all these Duties will remain amongst our selves, private Persons who pay these, may be a little burdened, yet *Scotland* can never suffer, but on the contrary rather gain, since the Duties arising from *Salt*, as well as all other Duties appropriated for the Debts of *England*, will be spent among us on some publick Works for the Improvement of *Scotland*.

I would have you likeways to consider, That since by the Treaty there is an Exemption given to us for 7 years from

the Duties on Salt, there will be both in that time and after, great Demands upon that Subject, very much to the Advantage of the Salt-Masters, when by a happy Union the Inhabitants of this Kingdom must encrease; which I have already endeavoured to shew, as the undoubted Consequence of Trade and Business.

'Tis true, that after the *Union* we are by the *Treaty* debarred for the space of 7 Years to Victual Ships with Provisions salted with our own Salt; but the Reason is evident, because we are exeemed from the Duties on our Salt for that time; and if so, then a very great Inequality would ensue between the Ships of both Kingdoms in Point of Trade, since thereby we might provide all Ships with Salted Meat more than a half cheaper than the *English*, and so be able to undersel them in their Trade.

And tho' our Salt-works seem to lie under another Discouragement, that by our own Acts of Parliament as well as by the *Treaty*, all Fish exported must be cured with Foreign *Salt*; yet I hope this may tend to the Advantage of *Scotland*, by the Reputation our Fishes will have Abroad: And in the mean time I doubt not but our Salt-Masters will fall upon methods of improving their *Salt*, since many People think it might be brought to as great Perfection as that of *France* or *Spain*, which if found out, wou'd prove an Additional Stock of Riches to this Kingdom.

Your 12th Objection is, That the Duties upon Malt will be very burdensome to us, when they take place in *Scotland*.

We are exeemed from these Duties by the Treaty, in so far as they affect *England* by any Act of Parliament now in force: And it is to be remembred, that these Duties are continued only from Year to Year in *England*, and go for supporting of the War; and likeways that when they take place in *Scotland*, they may well affect private Persons, but can

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bring no hurt to the Kingdom, since the Sums arising from these Duties, as well as from all others, are to be kept amongst our selves for Seven Years, by an express Agreement in the Treaty; and in that time, I hope, the War will be over, and that their will never afterwards be any use for these Duties.

Your 13*th*. Objection is upon the Difficulties and Scruples which some *Merchants* make on the *Treaty*, as that there is not sufficient time allowed to them to purchase such parts of their Ships that belong to Foreigners: That the Drawback upon Herring, is not sufficient, and that there are no Draw-backs expresly agreed to for encouraging the Export of our rough Bear, *Pease*, Oats and *Meal*.

In Answer to all this I shall say very little, only if when they come to be Discoursed on in the *Parliament*, it shall necessarly appear, that there should be any Rectifications or Additional Articles on these; I make no doubt, but all the *Members* of *Parliament* will most heartily agree to them: And that the *Commissioners of the Treaty* will be so far from pretending to Infallibility, that they will as heartily acknowledge their Escapes, which may the more easily be forgiven, that they had many things to think on, were straitned in time, lived upon their own Expences, and perhaps were working (as some of them feared) to unthankful *Masters*, in case their friendly Endeavours for their Country's Service should chance to be *Misconstructed*.

Your 14*th*. and last Objection is, That you fear the Articles will not be kept to *Scotland*.

This Objection seems contrary to all that preceed, for if there be so many ill things agreed for *Scotland*, as your former Objections wou'd insinuate, I think it wou'd be for our Advantage they were not kept, but upon a Supposition, that all the

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Articles of the Treaty, are for our Advantage: I say, in all human Probability, they must be kept for these Reasons.

1*mo.* Because it will be for the Interest of both Kingdoms, that these Articles should be kept.

For 'tis Certain, that the Island of *Britain* can never be so Rich, Powerful, and Populous, when separated, as when United.

2*do.* The Articles are Calculated upon great Equality, for both the Nations will Gain, and none of them Suffer.

3*tio.* *Honour and Reputation*, to which I shall add *Fear and Awe* must always keep us united; for it is meerly impossible that the two Kingdoms can break, when united and tyed in Allegiance under one Sovereign, without bringing Ruin and Confusion to both by their Divisions.

Having Answered your Difficulties, as to the Treaty, I shall now give you some Observations upon Mr. *H.* and Mr. *R.* writings against it, for I believe it will not be worth the while to Answer their Principal Objections, since that were only to repeat what I have already said.

Observe then in short, That most of all their Arguments against an *Incorporating Union*, strick at the Foundation of all *Unions* with *England* whatsoever.

That Mr. *H.* however well he has written against an *Incorporating Union*, yet he has been so Wise, as never to offer a Scheme of his Federal, for if he had done it, 'tis ten to one but it should be found either impracticable, or else (which is much the same thing) that the *English* will never agree to it.

That the same Author pretends in some places of his Book, That by the Providence of GOD, he has found out some wonderful Expedient to make us happy, even tho' an *Union* should not take: 'tis spoke very like a Quack Doctor on a Stage, and for that Reason will be much alike believed.

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In another place he runs down his Friends the *English*, as the most execrable People in the whole Earth, which is scarcely Civil, tho' done in a Pulpit, but most intolerable when done in Print.

I believe Mr. *H.* to be a very well meaning understanding Man, but how he comes in his Book to tell us, That all Members of Parliament take the Sacramental Test, is what passes my Comprehension, for I can scarce think he was Ignorant of the contrary.

But I shall not insist further on such like Remarks, for perhaps I am mistaken in the *Author*; therefore I'll proceed to shew you, upon what solid Reasons this Project of the *Union* is founded; and I hope that without Partiality or personal Prejudices, you will embrace that Opinion that will tend most to the Interest of this poor divided Nation.

I know, that many of this Kingdom have given Testimony of their dislike of the *Union*, by Addresses to the Parliament, and I know many of the Subscribers to be Persons of great Merit: However, I'm afraid that there has been too little Time taken to resolve upon a matter of such extraordinary Consequence, and that when this opportunity shall be lost, they may Repent at leasure what has been done in haste, and that our Posterity will be so far from admiring and applauding the Zeal of their Fathers in this Affair, that they will Curse these Divisions among us, that have entailed Poverty and Misery upon them, at a time when we might have conveyed to them all that Happiness, and these Blessings which must attend an entire *Union*.

The *Estates of Parliament* (in the mean time) have given a fresh Evidence of their Good will towards an *Union* by their Vote of the *4th.* of this instant, which was carried by a considerable Majority. This tho' it makes a considerable step, yet for accomplishing a happy *Union*, there's a Necessity it should be

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be concluded with as much Unanimity as is possible, and that all the Articles be duely understood and considered.

Some People's Eyes are very quick to discover the Disadvantages that *the Articles of the Treaty* labour under, but are Blind to all the Advantages they bring us. Wherefore, that you may have these in your View, allow me briefly to sum them up.

First then, By this Treaty, we come to a Settlement of the Succession in the *Protestant Line*; but perhaps in the Opinion of some, this is the only Disadvantage in the whole Articles, tho' I hope these will be found very few.

2do. A Communication of *Trade*, which we have been striving for these Hundred Years.

3tio. The necessary requisite to set up our decayed Trade, *viz.* a Loan (if you please to call it so) of 398085 *l.* 10 *s. sterl.* to be repayed, not all at once, or when the *English* please, but in a Term of Years, during which time we may improve the Advantage of having so great a Stock amongst our Hands.

4to. A very easy Cess, in regard that in time of Peace we shall be free of any.

5to. We have the Advantage of Seven Years Allowance of all that shall arise out of our Cess, Customs, or Excises, to be kept and spent amongst our selves, within the Limits of *Scotland*; which Concession comes to be far more considerable than can be discovered at the first view: For tho' we pay our Proportion of the *English* Debts during that time, yet that is only by a certain *Fictio juris*, since we either get *per* advance these Sums which are to be paid that way, or are to get them returned to us, or retain them in our own hands; So that (properly speaking) we shall enjoy all the Benefits of *Money* and Stock for Seven Years, that Navigation, a Communication of Trade, and the Advantage of a Loan of *Money* can yield us, besides the Happiness of being Defended and

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Protected by the Armies and Fleets of South *Britain*, without being put to the Expense of one Sixpence.

6to. We shall (perhaps) be free for ever of some Duties that affect *England*, and of others for a Term of Years, for these are Allowances that the *English* may grant to us, as new beginners, without prejudice to their own Trade.

7mo: And *Lastly*, Tho' there was no Allowance given to the Commissioners of the Treaty to meddle with the *Presbyterian* Church Government; yet by this Union it will have such a Security as it never had, nor can ever have, except by being a fundamental Article of an Union.

All these Advantages *Scotland* may have, and yet the *Union* is concerted with so much Justice and Equality, that the *English* do not suffer, or at most, all they can pretend to lose, is the Duty upon *Scots Linnen*, and the Trouble of lending 398083 *l.* 10 *s. sterl.* which upon the event will rather strengthen their hands, since thereby we'll be put in a Condition to assist them in all their Great and Glorious Undertakings for the Honour and Interest of *Britain*.

But if all these Advantages in the *Treaty* will not induce us to accept of the *Union*, because we are afraid to trust our own Judgments in this important Affair, then let us Consult with all *Europe*, if we please, and we'll find many of its Kingdoms and Estates in Terror, least this Matter succeed, and at the very utmost point of Despair, if it were not from the hopes they entertain, that it shall yet Miscarry.

Are we then the only Persons on Earth that are blind to our own Advantages? Or does our Stubbornes proceed from any other Secret Springs and Causes? I have the Charity to believe otherways; but I wou'd not have us in this Affair to be Wiser than our Predecessors, for if we'll Consult the Acts of the *Meeting of Estates* at the late Revolution, we'll find, that that *Convention* which was esteemed the Voice and Soul of

the Nation, was so far from thinking this sort of *Union* a Prejudice to *Scotland*, that they no sooner had restored our Constitution by enacting a *Claim of Right*, but as a thing Consonant and agreeable thereto, they give Testimony of their Desire for an incorporating entire *Union, with a Witness*, when by their 26 Act, they named Commissioners to Treat this *Union*, and to that Act subjoined a Letter to King *William*, a Paragraph whereof, I shall give in their own Words, *We are most sensible of your Majesty's Kindness, and Fatherly Care to promote the Union, which we hope hath been reserved to be accomplished by you, that as both Kingdoms are united under one Head, so they may become one Body Politick, and one Nation to be Represented by one Parliament.* And you may take notice further, That they were so very fond of promoting an Union of this kind, that they add in their Letter, *And if any Difficulty happen in this Treaty, we refer the Determination thereof to your Majesty.*

You may observe here, whether or not an *Incorporating Union* be contrary to the Claim of Right, as some People pretend; and that when its sense and meaning is so much wrested contrary to the plain Design and Intention of those who enacted it, what Treatment may it not expect in time? For if you will duly consider all the several Articles thereof, you'll find, that notwithstanding of any *Union*, it must and always will continue to be *the Claim of Right of the People of* Scotland for ever.

But if the Sentiments of the Convention of Estates will have no weight with you, then take the trouble to look back upon the State of this Nation these hundred Years bygone, and you'll easily discover the pitiful Case of this Ancient & Independent Kingdom.

Have we not been Slaves to our own Factions and Divisions, and may not we justly represent some of the by-past Cir-

Circumſtances of *Scotland*, in all the horrid ſhapes that Confuſion it ſelf can ſuggeſt: And which is worſe, that in all probability they will continue the ſame to the end of the World, in the condition we now live in.

And if theſe Reflections on ſome of our paſt Misfortunes do not move us, then we need only caſt our Thoughts upon our preſent Sufferings.

Amongſt a thouſand other Miſchiefs, do not we ſee our neareſt and deareſt Relations with tears obliged to part with their Native Country through meer Neceſſity, and turn Slaves to Strangers for their Bread; and do not we ſee our Country-men at the Price of their Blood erecting Trophees of Victories to Foreigners, and yet *Scotland* is not allowed the leaſt ſhare in the Glory.

The meanneſs of our Circumſtances has theſe 100 Years bygone obſcured us from all the World; ſo that *Scotland* is ſcarce known to any except its own Inhabitants; or if it be, it is ſtill under the Cover of *England*, from whence its Sovereignty and Independency caſt but a very dim Light.

What is it then we contend ſo much about? For if we enjoyed the Happineſs of a ſeparate King as well as of being a ſeparate Kingdom, we might then with greater reaſon oppoſe an Union with *England*: But as Matters now ſtand, there's nothing we ſhould deſire ſo much, eſpecially ſeeing *England* is ſatisfied to conſolidate its Sovereignty and Independency with ours, and out of both to make one Nation, more ſublimely Sovereign and Independent, than what either of us could ever with Juſtice pretend to. By this Union, the *Engliſh* will be ſo far from pretending to any Dominion over us, that the Rulers of *Great-Britain* will be choſen indifferently from among us, and them, as our Sovereigns ſhall think fit, that ſo by a full Communication of Privileges all Jealouſies and Fears, and all the fatal marks of Diſtinction that have

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been between *Scots* and *English*, will be extinguished for ever.

By this time I fear, I have wearied you with too long a Letter, but by much too short for the Subject: I have many things to add, but shall trouble you no further, hoping, that if what I have said, doth not entirely bring you over to the Union; yet at least you will be convinced, that there's no Court-Plot or Trick in it, as has been pretended, but a Project that will abide the Test of our Posterity, and get Approbation when the Zeal of some People against it shall be condemned, as what had riveted Misery by way of entail upon our Posterity, never again to be retrived.

Edinburgh the 6th of *November* 1706.

I am Yours, &c.

BRITISH MUSEUM 17NO85

ERRATA.

Pag. 8. l. 11. for your Enemies, *read*, our. p. 10. l. 7. for as. *r.* at. p. 15. l. 9. for full Members, *r.* full Numbers. p. 16. for Matters, *r.* Mathers; and l. 6. for Pitchard, *r.* Pilchard. p. 23. l. 11. for know, *r.* knew. p. 26. l. 7. for that the Excises, *r.* so that, &c. *Ibid.* l. *penult.* for 6. *r.* 9. p. 29. l. 11. for 9th. *r.* 10th. p. 37. l. 8. for on, *r.* in.